

**A Tour Through Part
of VIRGINIA
in the Summer of 1808**



JOHN EDWARDS CALDWELL
Edited by **WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL**

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of VIRGINIA
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FOR nearly a century and a half *A Tour Through Part of Virginia, in the Summer of 1808* has been a very scarce item on the rare book market. Now for the first time lovers of Virginia everywhere can read and enjoy John Edwards Caldwell's charming account of his summer holiday.

Early in June he visited Baltimore, Maryland. From there he went by way of Frederick to Harpers Ferry, Virginia, and then up the Shenandoah Valley through Martinsburg, Winchester, Harrisonburg, Staunton, and Lexington to the Natural Bridge, then owned by President Thomas Jefferson. With Jefferson we share the discomfort on looking down from its top and the pleasure of gazing up at its noble arch.

After passing through Buchanan and Fincastle, Caldwell crossed the mountains to the Old Sweet Springs, where he spent the best part of an interesting summer. He also visited the Red Sulphur, the Sweet Chalybeate, the Greenbrier White Sulphur, the Hot, and the Warm Springs. They were all still primarily health resorts then, but the gay social life which later distinguished them was developing.

(Continued on Back Flap)

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*A Tour
Through Part of Virginia*

A TOUR
THROUGH
PART OF VIRGINIA,
IN THE
SUMMER OF 1808.
ALSO,
*SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ISLANDS IN THE
ATLANTIC OCEAN,*
KNOWN BY THE NAME OF THE
AZORES,
VISITED FOR SOME WEEKS BY THE AUTHOR, ON
HIS WAY FROM THE UNITED STATES TO
EUROPE,
IN APRIL AND MAY, 1809.

BELFAST:
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1810.

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLEPAGE OF THE BELFAST EDITION

A TOUR
Through Part *of* Virginia,
IN THE SUMMER OF 1808.

... ALSO ...

Some Account of
The Islands of the Azores.

BY

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WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL



RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
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EDITOR'S PREFACE

In the summer of 1808 a New Yorker proceeded from Baltimore by way of Frederick to Harpers Ferry, Virginia, and then up the Shenandoah Valley through Martinsburg, Winchester, Harrisonburg, Staunton, and Lexington to the Natural Bridge, which he found beyond his powers of description. From there he went by Buchanan and Fincastle to the Old Sweet Springs where he spent the best part of the summer. He also visited the Red Sulphur, the Sweet Chalybeate, the Greenbrier White Sulphur, the Hot, and the Warm Springs, before returning to the Shenandoah Valley, where he spent a day exploring Weyer's Cave, now called the Grand Caverns. Weyer's Cave had been discovered only two years before, and the tourist wrote the first detailed description of it. Crossing the Blue Ridge in September he visited President Jefferson at Monticello for an hour, and then returned home by way of Alexandria and Washington, D. C.

The next spring, following the repeal of the Embargo Act, he set out for Europe and en route spent a pleasant month in the Azores.

Of the interesting account of the tourist's trip through Virginia, there are two early nineteenth century editions, both now quite scarce. The first edition, printed in 1809 at New York, is rather widely held in rare book collections. Of the second edition, printed in 1810 at Belfast, only two copies have been located in this country, one at the University of Virginia and the other at Harvard University.

In preparing this new edition, the copies of the first

PREFACE

and the second editions in the Tracy W. McGregor Library of the University of Virginia have been used. The inclusion of additional material and the appending of an account of a visit to the Azores Islands make the Belfast edition considerably longer than the earlier New York edition. For this reason, and because a number of errors in the first edition were corrected by the author in the second, the Belfast text has been followed. A few printer's errors have been corrected, but the spelling, punctuation, and grammar of the author have not been changed. Interpolations in the text are all pointed out in the footnotes, as are several errors of fact, but it has been impossible to clear up every obscure point or to fill in every blank. Some reader may perhaps identify the young lady of Staunton who drowned near Shrylocks or the unfortunate Philadelphia gentleman who was murdered near Middleton.

The authorship of *A Tour Through Part of Virginia, in the Summer of 1808* has long been a mystery. Neither edition offers any direct clue. R. W. G. Vail in Sabin's *Bibliotheca Americana*, New York, 1934, Vol. 25, p. 333, lists as supposed authors: (1) T. Caldwell, (2) Samuel Latham Mitchill, 1764-1831, and (3) Joseph Caldwell, 1773-1835. In the same work (New York, 1870, Vol. 3, No. 9917) Joseph Sabin himself had earlier given T. Caldwell as the author. The New York Historical Society copy of the *Tour* has "Thomas Caldwell" penciled in as the name of the author in an old handwriting, but no one has identified T. or Thomas Caldwell. It is possible that "T. Caldwell" may be the result of an error in transcribing "J. Caldwell." The Belfast edition is ascribed to J. Caldwell by Obadiah Rich in *Bibliotheca Americana Nova*, London, 1846, Vol. 2, p. 51.

PREFACE

Modern booksellers have generally ascribed authorship to Samuel Latham Mitchill, an eminent scientist, politician, teacher, and author of New York City, whose biographer, Courtney Robert Hall, in *A Scientist in the Early Republic; Samuel Latham Mitchill, 1764-1831*, New York, 1934, p. 105, assumes Mitchill to be the author but offers nothing to support his claim. The erudite Dr. Mitchill, however, could not have written this book. He was a physician; the tourist was not (p. 13). On July 4, 1808, the tourist was at Sweet Springs and in August at the Red Sulphur Springs (p. 27, 29), but on July 12, 1808, Mitchill addressed a letter to President Jefferson from New York City (Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress). Furthermore, Mitchill did not make a trip to Europe in 1809. Instead he made an extended tour of New York State and Upper Canada and then went to Albany as a member of the New York legislature. He recounts this in an appendix to David Hosack's *Memoir of De Witt Clinton*, New York, 1829, p. 389-394.

Enlarging on Obadiah Rich's statement, William Cushing in *Anonyms: A Dictionary of Revealed Authorship*, Cambridge, 1889, p. 677, ascribes the book to Joseph Caldwell, D. D., 1773-1835, a Presbyterian minister and the first president of the University of North Carolina. The tourist, however, was not a minister and did not take part in a Presbyterian communion service (p. 20, 26). He came not from North Carolina but from New York (p. 8, 9, 11, 17, 29). Furthermore Joseph Caldwell made his only trip to Europe in 1824, as can be seen from the *Autobiography and Biography of Rev. Joseph Caldwell, D. D., LL.D.*, Chapel Hill, 1860, p. 63.

PREFACE

John Edwards Caldwell, an important citizen of New York City in his day, but one that few people of our day can identify, was in reality the author of the *Tour*, and unquestionably the J. Caldwell to whom Obadiah Rich referred. This is substantiated by David B. Warden, a notable collector of Americana, who states in *A Statistical, Political, and Historical Account of the United States of North America*, Edinburgh, 1819, Vol. 2, p. 227, that the Belfast edition was "edited by John Caldwell of New York."

The best contemporary account of Caldwell's life is the "Biographical Sketch of Mr. John E. Caldwell" in *The Christian Herald* for March 20, 1819, Vol. 5, p. 760-764. The sketch of his life in this volume is designed to introduce him as the author of *A Tour Through Part of Virginia, in the Summer of 1808*.

WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL

University of Virginia
June, 1950

JOHN EDWARDS CALDWELL

Author of *A Tour Through Part of Virginia*

A modern psychoanalyst might perhaps find the spiritual and emotional conflicts of John Edwards Caldwell worthy of study, but unfortunately only a very limited amount of material relating to his life exists today. Born on February 2, 1769, at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, he was the eldest son of the Rev. James Caldwell and Hannah Ogden. In 1776 his father, a militant Presbyterian minister, embraced the patriot cause and left his church in Elizabethtown to go with a Jersey regiment as chaplain. The parson's popularity with the Patriots was equalled only by the enmity of the Tories. He was not safe at his home when loyalists were abroad, so the family moved to Connecticut Farms, New Jersey. Here on June 7, 1780, while surrounded by her nine children at prayers, Caldwell's mother was killed by a bullet fired through the window during Knyphausen's invasion. Her body was carried into the street when the marauders burned the town. A year later, on November 24, 1781, while conducting a young lady through the lines from New York under a flag of truce, Caldwell's father was killed by a New Jersey militiaman posted as a sentry at Elizabethtown Point. The militiaman was later hanged for the murder.¹

¹ "Biographical Sketch of Mr. John E. Caldwell," *The Christian Herald*, Vol. 5, March 20, 1819, p. 760-764; Lawrence Van Alstyne and Rev. Charles Burr Ogden, *The Ogden Family in America, Elizabethtown Branch, and Their English Ancestor, John Ogden, the Pilgrim, and His Descendants, 1640-1906*, Philadelphia, 1907, p. 161-162; "James Caldwell (1734-1781)," *Dictionary of American Biography*, New York, 1928-1936, Vol. 3, p. 408-409; William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, New York, 1857-1869, Vol. 3, p. 222-228.

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Elias Boudinot, President of the Continental Congress and an elder in the Elizabethtown Presbyterian Church, became the guardian of the orphan Caldwell children. Under his patronage each of them was placed in a home and given a suitable education. Of the brothers, James B. Caldwell in later years was a Judge of the Courts of Gloucester County, New Jersey, and Elias B. Caldwell was for some years clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States.

John Edwards Caldwell, with whom we are concerned here, had earlier been placed under the care of the Rev. Dr. Alexander McWhorter, pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Newark, New Jersey, but the Marquis de Lafayette, who had been warmly attached to the boy's father, secured the consent of Boudinot to take the boy with him when he returned to Europe in December, 1781. In France, Caldwell was given a liberal education. He mastered not only French and Latin but also Greek. To the day of his death he cherished the warmest affection for the Marquis and Marchioness.

Alone in a Catholic environment, Caldwell naturally was subject to pressure from his teachers to adopt the Roman faith, of which he became a proselyte. When informed of this, his guardian with great insight wrote him:

Do not suppose that I am so void of Christian Charity or so ignorant of the Principles & Practice of thousands of the Roman Church as to suppose that a man may not, under the influence of them lead a life of holiness & devotion to God—No—I am satisfied that the grace of God is not confined to Sect or Party—Remember that as you have changed your sentiments once you may live to do

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it a second time—This should lead you to proceed with caution and circumspection.²

The excesses of the French Revolution and the urging of friends led Caldwell to return to America in 1791. For a while he was under the tutelage of the Rev. Drs. John Witherspoon and Samuel Stanhope Smith of Princeton, who convinced him of the errors of popery, but who did not restore his faith in the church of his childhood. Though religious by nature, he became a skeptic.

Years later, Caldwell thought George Washington's observations on the evils of sending immature youths to Europe to be educated worth quoting.

Caldwell settled in Philadelphia, where Boudinot lived, and engaged in a mercantile business, trading in the West Indies and elsewhere as John E. Caldwell & Co. He married his first wife, Louise, in 1801 at Philadelphia, but she died within a year, leaving a daughter who died soon after.

With the advent of the Jefferson administration, Caldwell, a loyal Republican, was appointed on June 25, 1801, consular agent of the United States for the city of Santo Domingo and ports of the West Indies. By 1803, however, he had settled in New York City, where he continued his mercantile business. On September 21, 1805, he married Mrs. Theodorus Van Wyck (Hannah Ker), a rich widow, who had at least one daughter, Eliza, by a former marriage. They seem to have been devout Protestants. Caldwell apparently be-

² *The Life, Public Services, Addresses and Letters of Elias Boudinot, LL.D., President of the Continental Congress.* Edited by J. J. Boudinot. Boston and New York, 1896, Vol. 2, p. 33.

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gan considering a return to the Presbyterian Church, which he now attended once more.³

The Napoleonic Wars stimulated American trade, but also brought great damage to it. United States ships suffered indignities at the hands of both the English and the French. Hoping to force the belligerents to respect American rights, President Jefferson secured the passage of the Embargo in December, 1807. By this Act, trade was brought to a standstill, and as the spring advanced Caldwell like others was vexed by a lack of business. June 7th found him in Baltimore where he wrote:

I leave this city to-morrow, for the sweet springs in Virginia; the urgency of my friends, more than my own inclinations, induces my undertaking so long a journey; the delicate and precarious state of my health requiring, they think, the wholesome exercise of riding, change of air, the use of the waters, and that degree of temperate dissipation, or medicine of the mind, which relieves the patient from the anxiety of worldly pursuits and vexations, and promotes that sunshine and hilarity within, so conducive to the re-establishment of health.⁴

To business worries was probably added spiritual unrest. His deeply religious nature lacked a channel of expression. Certainly he suffered from an ailment in his chest, but he was an extremely active invalid. He spent the entire summer in Virginia visiting the springs and seeing the sights. In the fall he returned home.

Back in New York, Caldwell occupied his time by

³ *Letters from John Pintard to his Daughter, Eliza Noel Pintard Davidson, 1816-1833*, New York, 1940-1941, Vol. 1, p. 170-171; *The Christian Herald*, Vol. 5, p. 760-764; *The Ogden Family in America*, p. 161-162; *post*, p. 17, 20.

⁴ *Post*, p. 5.

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writing, in the form of letters to his friends, an account of his tour through Virginia. Based both on notes made during his travels and on memories of what he had seen, the account is reinforced by occasional quotations from his library. In the main it appears to be a simple personal narrative intended for "the entertainment of his friends, during the approaching winter evenings," but indirectly it reveals the conflicts in the mind of the author.

Caldwell displayed an interest in the people he met and in both the beauties and wonders of nature. The medical properties of the springs he discussed at some length. The condition of the roads and waterways he set forth in some detail, together with the commerce which passed over them. The projected canal systems to connect the Potomac with the Ohio, and the James with the Kanawha, were mentioned, but Caldwell favored the Hudson River and Great Lakes route through New York State, which with the aid of the newly developed steamboat would bring the commerce of the West to his countinghouse door. Cut off from Europe, he was keenly interested in locations at which domestic manufacturing might be developed. However, as he later added, he judged the excellent sites in the South inferior to those in the neighborhood of Salisbury Mills in Orange County, New York. On the other hand, he contrasted the wages paid servants in Baltimore with the higher wages paid servants in New York City.

Slavery was distasteful to Caldwell. In his eyes both servant and master suffered because of its baleful influence. Even the land became poorer where slavery existed. Gambling he abhorred. It was the breeder of other vices and in time might wreck not only those

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addicted but also their innocent families. He related the sad fate of Reuben Burnley as a case in point.

With proper modesty Caldwell had his little book printed anonymously at his own expense early in 1809 by H. C. Southwich of Wall Street. Copies appear to have circulated among a wide circle of friends.

Meanwhile, the election of 1808 showed that the country as a whole disapproved of the Embargo, which hurt the United States more than it hurt England and France. A few days before leaving office, President Jefferson signed a bill bringing it to an end. In its place was substituted a Non-Intercourse Act, which closed the harbors of the United States to England and France and forbade our ships to enter their ports. United States vessels could trade elsewhere as they chose. This of course led at once to transshipping which circumvented the law. British and American ships met in neutral ports and exchanged cargoes. Fayal, having the safest harbor in the Azores, reaped a golden harvest in this business.

The news of the lifting of the Embargo had hardly reached New York before Caldwell was on his way to Europe. He arrived in the Azores April 19, 1809. Here as the guest of John Bass Dabney, the United States Consul at Fayal, he spent a pleasant month. With the local people of importance, the governor, the clergy, the British consul, and others, he made friends. The evenings were taken up with agreeable conversation and whist games. Caldwell visited the more important islands and was told about the others. The most interesting part of what he learned he wrote down for his small book, *Some Account of the Islands of the Azores*, in which he discussed the history and geography of the

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Azores, the occupations of the people, and the commerce of the islands.

In May, when Caldwell resumed his journey, he wrote his host a farewell letter in verse from his cabin on the *Sarah*, then at anchor in the road at Fayal. Expressing his thanks for the many kindnesses shown him, he asked to be remembered to each of his friends, and ended with a wish for the health and happiness of the entire Dabney family. He promised that:

. . . whether at sea on the Hudson or Boyne
I ne'er can forget the sweet hill of Antoine.⁵

Dabney's house stood on a hill opposite the Church of Antoine, and Caldwell, who lived in New York City on the Hudson River, was bound for Ireland where the Boyne River flows. He certainly visited Belfast. Where else he went is not known.

In Belfast, Caldwell left a corrected and enlarged copy of *A Tour Through Part of Virginia, in the Summer of 1808* and the manuscript for *Some Account of the Islands of the Azores* with the printers Smyth and Lyons on Nigh Street. The next year they published these two works anonymously in a single volume, few copies of which apparently ever reached this country. In the *Tour*, Annapolis instead of Baltimore was now correctly given as the capital of Maryland; Harrisburg was now corrected to Harrisonburg, and Petersburg to Patonsburg. The praise of southern commercial opportunities was offset by the statement that New York State offered better opportunities. Added were the account of frog hunting and the chapter on Washington, D. C.

⁵ Roxana Lewis Dabney, *Annals of the Dabney Family in Fayal*, Boston, ca. 1900, Vol. 1, p. 29; *post*, p. 45, 55-56, 58.

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On his return to New York, Caldwell was brought face to face with the great problem of his life. His stepdaughter, Miss Eliza Van Wyke, to whom he was devoted, was ill and expressed her wish that he would again unite with the church of his father. This he did, joining the Cedar Street Presbyterian Church. His action was based, however, on considered judgment, the whole matter having been in the forefront of his thinking for years.

The early instruction of his parents and the course of reading prescribed by Drs. Witherspoon and Smith made a foundation on which Caldwell, by much study, observation, and meditation, was able to build a faith satisfying his religious need. Perhaps Boudinot's advice tempered his thinking; at any rate he sought his position slowly and with great care. The Rev. Dr. John B. Romeyn, his pastor, was later to characterize him as the most intelligent layman of the Presbyterian denomination, ardent in zeal, acute and skillful in controversy.⁶

During his travels through Virginia and the Azores, Caldwell had made observations which influenced his decision in rejecting the Catholic Church and returning to the Presbyterian Church. These observations together with other things would also seem to indicate that he had really made his choice several years before, but he hesitated until a crisis brought forth a declaration from him.

In Baltimore, Caldwell had enquired into the merits of the colleges which were being started by the Catholics and by the Presbyterians. He remarked on the

⁶ *The Christian Herald*, Vol. 5, p. 761; *Letters from John Pintard to his Daughter, Eliza Noel Pintard Davidson, 1816-1833*, Vol. 1, p. 171.

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growth of the Methodists, admired the new Catholic Cathedral designed by Benjamin Latrobe, and praised the wise and liberal policy of the Catholics who founded Maryland. In Virginia he saw various churches and attended various services, but it was at Hebron Presbyterian Church near Staunton that a communion service made a profound and perhaps decisive impression on him. He attended "to *join* in the worship and to *witness* the celebration of the Lord's Supper." He recalled that:

The unaffected zeal of the four associating clergymen, the genuine spirit of religion in the people shown forth in their humility, their sorrow, and their repentance, spoke more to the heart and the feelings of an attentive observer, than the most costly sacrifice of grandeur, or the vain-glorious professions of the lofty Pharisee. Here, indeed, was a sight to lift the mind of the worldly man from the vain pursuits of time.⁷

Later in the Azores, where the Catholic Church was universal, Caldwell wrote:

I could not discover, nor have I heard that among the clergy there are men of enlightened minds, or superior endowments; I met with many possessed of blandness of manners, and unless I am much deceived, of goodness of heart, and could not but lament the prevalence of an hierarchy, which threw on the community such a dead weight of useless, often of mischievous matter, or deprived it of the industry of so great a portion of the population.⁸

When contrasted, these two passages indicate clearly the choice Caldwell was later to make. While still at Fayal, he also expressed himself as being strongly op-

⁷ *Post*, p. 20.

⁸ *Post*, p. 49.

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posed to nunneries, but he censured a British sea captain who persuaded a nun to run away with him. This judgment may, however, have been based more on morals than on religion.

On his return to the Presbyterian fold, Caldwell, whose truly religious nature had been restrained for years, became extremely zealous in the work of the church, and within two years he was made an elder in the Cedar Street Church. He became a member of the Board of Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. A patron of the Princeton Theological Seminary, he was also a member of the Board of the African School supported by the Synod of New York and New Jersey, and a trustee of the New York Free School. But it was to the work of distributing Bibles and other religious literature that he dedicated the greater part of his time and money. In March 1816, he established *The Christian Herald*, which he edited up to the time of his death. It gave him a means "of communicating in an easy and familiar way to the friends of Zion the glorious things that were accomplished for her prosperity." He was corresponding secretary of the New York Bible Society and superintended the printing of its edition of the New Testament in French.

Caldwell was a director of the American Bible Society, which he had helped to found in May 1816, and superintended the printing of both its French and its Spanish New Testaments as well as several editions of the English Bible. In February 1818, he became the first general agent of the society at a salary of \$1200 per year. The depository of the society he kept in his upstairs office at the corner of Nassau and Cedar Streets

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where he conducted his business. A year later he determined to give all his time to the work of the Bible Society and even made arrangements to dispose of *The Christian Herald*. On March 4, the board of managers raised his salary as agent to \$1500 and increased his duties somewhat, but Caldwell was confined to his home at the time. While going about in "very unpleasant and unhealthy weather, to finish a contract which he had made for paper on account of the society," he had taken a severe cold. On March 9, 1819, he died of pneumonia at his home on Greenwich Street. Two days later, attended by "a large concourse of citizens," he was buried.⁹

So passed a useful citizen, a staunch republican, and a stalwart Christian. Caldwell's character had been tempered by the hot flames of conflict and controversy. At close range he had witnessed the birth agonies of two republics. Both his parents had met violent deaths during the American Revolution, and he had left France at a time when liberty was perverted into anarchy. Thus he had learned to value true freedom and to respect the rights of the individual. Brought up in a strict Calvinist atmosphere, he had as a youth been introduced to the courts of France and been persuaded to join the Roman Catholic Church. Then as a young man, when he returned to America, he became convinced of the error of his adopted church and left it, only to drift like a ship without anchor or sail. Later, both his first

⁹ *The Christian Herald*, Vol. 5, p. 736, 760-764; *Letters from John Pintard to his Daughter, Eliza Noel Pintard Davidson, 1816-1833*, Vol. 1, p. 171; Henry Otis Dwight, *The Centennial History of the American Bible Society*, New York, 1916, p. 67, 192; *The Ogden Family in America*, p. 161-162; *Third Report of the American Bible Society, Presented May 13, 1819*, New York, 1819, p. 15, 37; *New York Commercial Advertiser*, March 9, 11, 1819.

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wife and his only child were snatched from him. At last, when forty years old and after much thought, he joined the Presbyterian Church, and with a zeal born of a deep conviction which had been long repressed he plunged into the work of the gospel. The spiritual and emotional conflicts of Caldwell would make an interesting study, but apart from the first five volumes of *The Christian Herald* and a mercantile letter book,¹⁰ he has left us only this slender volume of travels.

¹⁰ Letter Book, John E. Caldwell, Philadelphia, 1795-1796. Ms. in Library of Congress.

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A
TOUR
THROUGH
PART OF VIRGINIA,
IN THE SUMMER OF
1808.
IN A SERIES OF LETTERS,
INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF
HARPER'S FERRY,
THE NATURAL BRIDGE,
THE NEW DISCOVERY CALLED
Weir's Cave,
MONTICELLO,
AND THE
DIFFERENT MEDICINAL SPRINGS,
Hot and Cold Baths,
VISITED BY THE AUTHOR.

NEW-YORK:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

H. C. SOUTHWICK, PRINTER,
No. 2, Wall-Street.

1809.

PREFACE.¹

THE object of the Author in writing the following Letters, being merely the entertainment of his friends, during the approaching winter evenings, he hopes for that indulgence in their perusal, which he is sensible that both the style and the matter which it contains, will require the good nature of the reader to bestow.

¹ This preface to the New York (1809) edition was not printed in the Belfast (1810) edition. The halftitle preceding is a facsimile of the title page of the New York edition.

LETTERS, &c.

Baltimore, June 7, 1808.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I LEAVE this city to-morrow, for the sweet springs in Virginia; the urgency of my friends, more than my own inclinations, induces my undertaking so long a journey; the delicate and precarious state of my health requiring, they think, the wholesome exercise of riding, change of air, the use of the waters, and that degree of temperate dissipation, or medicine of the mind, which relieves the patient from the anxiety of worldly pursuits and vexations, and promotes that sunshine and hilarity within, so conducive to the re-establishment of health.

Maryland was originally settled by Roman Catholics, under the government of Lord Baltimore, and although for many years before their emigration, no sectarians suffered more persecution than they did, yet the wise and liberal policy adopted by these colonists, rapidly advanced their province to the first rank and consequence. The city of Annapolis, one of their first settlements, could vie with any town of the same extent in Europe, for elegance, opulence and fashion, and while the New-England Puritans, or the Virginia High-church men, were persecuting their dissenting brethren, the Catholics of Maryland, and the Quakers of Pennsylvania showed alike that meek and unoffending spirit, so consistent with the Christian character. Annapolis continues to be the seat of government, but Baltimore is

considered the capital of Maryland, it² is situated on the north side of Patapsco river, and has arisen within a few years, from a place of little trade, to the rank of the third city in size, opulence and commerce, in the United States; the exports in 1806, were, domestic, 3,661,131; foreign, 10,919,774, making 14,580,905 dollars. They have five banking establishments, viz. The United States branch, the Maryland, Baltimore, Union and Mechanic Banks, a number of incorporated Insurance Companies, and a company of merchants trading to the East Indies, the latter not yet incorporated. The public spirit of its inhabitants has converted Fell's point into a regular well built town, and from being an unprofitable marsh it may now vie in wharfs, streets, and buildings, with any place of the same size on the Continent. It is computed that the city and point, under the general name of Baltimore, contains forty thousand inhabitants. There is a new college erected for the education of youth, under the direction of Roman Catholic Clergy and Preceptors, but young men of all persuasions are educated without interference with their religious opinions.³ Schools of different descriptions are numerous; the Baltimore College, directed by the Rev. Mr. Knox, and the Rev. Mr. Sinclair, promises to be of the first literary consequence; it is at present highly respectable, and the pupils are increas-

² In the New York edition this paragraph begins "Baltimore the capital of Maryland;" the discussion of Annapolis was added in the Belfast edition.

³ St. Mary's University began in 1791 as a seminary on Paca Street, but in 1803 a collegiate department opened its doors to all students. In 1852 the college was closed, and the institution again confined itself to the training of priests. The same year Loyola College was opened. Bernard C. Steiner, *History of Education in Maryland*, Washington, 1894, p. 175, 272-280.

ing.⁴—Churches and places of worship are many and handsomely built. Baltimore abounds in sectarians, those of the Methodist persuasion seem to be rapidly gaining ground. The new Catholic Cathedral, when finished will be a superb building, and the Court-house and Penitentiary will do honour to the taste of their projectors. The fort,⁵ about four miles from town, adds to the beauty, as it contributes to the safety of the harbour; there is a sufficient depth of water to, and at the point, for first rate vessels, and at the wharfs in town for large coasting vessels. The water for drinking and culinary purposes, originally bad, is now brought at a considerable expense to the town; and every individual can be supplied at a trifling rate, with this most necessary article of life, of good and wholesome quality. The people of opulence seem to enjoy the good things, and even the luxuries of life with *greater gout* than their neighbors to the eastward, the *savoir vivre* is well understood, and their markets, of course, are yearly improving in almost every article that can add to the comforts and to the splendour of the table. It must be, however, admitted, that the style and expense of late years adopted here, rather exceeds the prudence of commercial calculation, and the disposition to gaming is rather increasing, and in some circles truly alarming to a reflecting mind. It is but just to observe, that few of

⁴ Baltimore College was founded in 1803 as a non-sectarian college. In 1808 the academies of the Rev. Samuel Knox (1756-1832) and Rev. William Sinclair were merged with the college, Knox becoming president and Sinclair vice-president. Baltimore College gave up its charter and became a part of the University of Maryland in 1830. Knox is best known for his *Essay on the Best System of Liberal Education, Adapted to the Genius of the Government of the United States*, Baltimore, 1799. Steiner, *History of Education in Maryland*, p. 44-49, 245-247.

⁵ Fort McHenry repulsed the British during the early morning of September 14, 1814, and inspired Francis Scott Key to write *The Star Spangled Banner*.

the younger part of the fair sex join in these amusements; their manners are engaging, their conversation sprightly, their personal charms far above mediocrity, and their *tout ensemble* is calculated to delight and to improve. The Theatre is well attended: no city can boast of more eloquence in the pulpit or at the bar, nor are the people of Baltimore second to any either in correct classical and literary information and acquirement. There are nearly four thousand uniformed troops, volunteers and militia in this city, and a finer body of men never paraded; the military spirit is at its height, and emulation has its full and beneficial effect among them.—Nine years since, house rent was very high; it is now, in consequence of the immense increase of buildings, more moderate, and servant's wages are from one to three dollars per month less than in New-York, this may be attributed to the number of negroes and free people of colour, many of whom make good servants. From forty to fifty excellent hackney-coaches ply the streets, and pay the corporation an annual tax of forty dollars each; many of the streets are one hundred and fifty feet wide, and regularly laid out.

Adieu.

Harper's Ferry, 11th June, 1808.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE road from Baltimore to Ellicott's mills is excellent; it is a flourishing settlement, consisting of flour and paper mills, a store, tavern and a pretty village of about a dozen houses; the distance from the capital⁶ being but ten miles, induces the citizens to make frequent parties of pleasure to this neighbourhood.

Near Ellicott's is the establishment formed by the Maryland Manufacturing Society; they have purchased

⁶ "Capital" refers to Baltimore. See footnote on page 6.

a large tract, well circumstanced as to wood and water falls, and they are now about erecting their mills and cabins for workmen and manufacturers. Their capital is large,* their motives patriotic, and they are entitled, of course, to the support and best wishes of every friend to the interests of his country. This situation, is, however, by no means so well adapted for the seat of a manufactory as is Salisbury mills, in Orange county, State of New-York, where mills and buildings of every description are already erected, and where a good stream of water and populous country, would secure success to any establishment supported by industry and capital, and where the three branches of cotton, wool-len and canvass manufactory could be carried on to any extent, the raw material for the latter being raised in great abundance in the neighbourhood.

The Carolina slave dealers get frequent supplies from this state, particularly from the eastern shore; and never were my feelings more outraged, or my high notions of the freedom and liberty of my country more hurt, than by a scene which presented itself near Elliott's—Two blanched and meagre looking wretches were lolling in their one-horse chair, protected from the excessive heat of the noon-day sun by a huge umbrella, and driving before them four beings of the African race, fastened to each other by iron chains fixed round the neck and arms, and attended by a black woman, a reliance on whose conjugal or sisterly affection, prevented the application of hand cuffs or neck collars; the people on the road loaded the inhuman drivers with cur-

* The capital is one million of dollars, consisting of 20,000 shares, of fifty dollars each. [Author's footnote, which he almost certainly intended as an amendment to be incorporated in the text of the second edition.]

ses and execrations, which, at least, led me to suppose, and to hope that the present exhibition of the inequality of our laws, and of our comforts did not often occur.— The entire road from Baltimore to Frederickstown has been lately turned into a turnpike, and may in time be good; at present, it is in many places almost impassible, in consequence of the roughness of the materials, and hurtful to both carriages and horses. The expense of tolls from Frederick to Baltimore, a distance of forty-six miles, and back again, for a waggon and six horses, is, I believe, six dollars, an enormous charge to those of the back countries who have travelled hundreds of miles without paying any thing, and with as little injury to their vehicles; this often engages a preference to Georgetown and Alexandria, instead of their former market of Baltimore.

Frederick is supposed to be in size, trade and opulence only second to Lancaster as an inland town, it is in the midst of a fertile, luxurious and abundant country; the domestic manufactories of hat making, shoemaking and saddlery are carried on to a considerable extent. They have a branch of the Farmer's Bank of Maryland, and in the neighbourhood is a barrack for the United States' troops, which, during the war, afforded comfortable accommodation to the British and Hessian prisoners. Four miles from hence, on the Tuscarora Creek, is the *Ætna* window glass manufactory.

From Frederick to Trap is eight miles, and from Trap to this place (Harper's-ferry) is twelve miles; the road miserably bad, but the country beautiful and the land good; the approach to the ferry is strikingly picturesque, and after crossing, ascending the hill, and viewing the junction of the Shenandoah and the Potomack, forcing their way through the blue mountains,

and proceeding in one joint stream to the ocean, the mind is lost in wonder and admiration, and my pen in vain attempts a description of the scene itself, or the feelings I experienced in contemplating this great work of nature! Batteaux descend the river in spring and fall, to Georgetown and Washington; they carry from 70 to 120 bbls. of flour, and are from 70 to 75 feet long, and 4 or 5 feet wide; the expense of transport is one dollar per barrel. Accidents rarely happen, and one per cent would be ample insurance for the whole navigation. A communication between the Western and Atlantic waters has been contemplated by means of the Potomack, but in some future letter I shall attempt to show that such communication will be more feasible by the lakes and Hudson river, in New-York state. The United States government have, within these few years, established at this place a manufactory for arms; about one hundred men are now employed; the weighty part of the business is conducted by the aid of machinery turned by water, and there are now in the armory not less than 25,000 stand of arms. Government is considerably increasing, and enlarging the works.

The direct road to my place of destination is by Charleston,⁷ the capital of Jefferson county, but I prefer a more circuitous route by Shepherdstown and Martinsburgh, the latter the capital of Berkley county. My host, his family and boarders are attending the lectures of a blind philosopher, and have enabled me, in quiet, to write this long letter, and to assure you

I remain very affectionately,

Your Friend.

⁷ Charles Town, Jefferson County, now in West Virginia is not to be confused with the state capital, Charleston, in Kanawha County, West Virginia.

Martinsburgh.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THIS town has suffered much by the division of the county; still it thrives and can boast of a most excellent tavern, kept by Mr. Gautier, whose accommodations are better, and terms more reasonable than any I have met with. This good fare and cheapness bring a great resort of company in the summer season; the proximity to a much frequented sulphur spring, which is only eight miles distant, and the advantage of an excellent news-room, where the most respectable papers on the continent are taken, are additional inducements for strangers to frequent this place. The sulphur springs, in this vicinity, are rented by an Italian, formerly servant to the celebrated General Lee, who left him a handsome legacy.⁸ Many anecdotes are told of the general; he lived in this neighbourhood, as did the two other disgraced generals, Stevens and Gates. Stevens died here, and his friends are now erecting a handsome monument to his memory.⁹ Gates, you know, was never tried: he was soon deservedly restored to his country's favour, and died at an advanced age in New-York,

⁸ Charles Lee (1731-1782) first came to America as an officer with General Braddock in 1755. He returned in 1773 and took up land in what is now Berkeley County, West Virginia. Volunteering in 1775, he was immediately made a major general. His conduct cost the Americans the victory at Monmouth in 1778. For disrespect to Washington at this time, he was court-martialed. By his will most of his property other than real estate went to his "old and faithful servant or rather humble friend, Guisippi [*sic*] Minghini."

⁹ Adam Stephen (1730-1791) was the founder of Martinsburg and a major general in the Continental Army. At Germantown in 1777 his division became engaged not with the enemy but with other American troops under General Anthony Wayne. Accused of drunkenness and held responsible for the blunder, Stephen was dismissed from the service. His grave is marked by a rectangular pyramid of stone nine feet high.

where he had resided for many years.¹⁰ I have found it necessary to apply a blister to my breast; but such is the dread of this application, that my landlord urged my consulting a physician, previous to making use of so dangerous a remedy, and I at length overcame his solicitude by assuming a knowledge of the healing art.

The Berkley springs are twenty-five miles distant:—there are several houses of entertainment in their vicinage, which, I am told, are generally crowded. Timber is wasting rapidly throughout the state of Virginia owing, in some measure, to the constant fires kept up night and day, by the negroes in their huts, which no prudence of the master can prevent; we may however hope, that necessity will oblige them to look for, and discover in the bowels of the earth, that best of fuel, sea coal, with which, no doubt, many of these mountains abound.

I am, truly,

Your affectionate friend.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Winchester.

THIS town is twenty-two miles from Martinsburgh; the road very indifferent. Near the half-way tavern, a farm of 260 acres is offered for sale; about 160 acres cleared, and the remainder in wood. The land is of the best quality, and rated at 20 dollars per acre; it is eight miles from the Shenandoah, from whence boats

¹⁰ Horatio Gates (1729-1806) first came to Virginia in 1755 as an officer with General Braddock. In 1772 he returned and settled in what is now Berkeley County, West Virginia. A major general, he commanded the American army which captured General Burgoyne's army at Saratoga in 1777. Later he fell into disgrace following his rout by General Cornwallis at Camden in 1780, but it was never shown that his defeat was due to any personal misconduct. In 1790 Gates sold his home, "Traveller's Rest," and moved to New York.

proceed to Georgetown in the spring and fall, as from Harper's ferry. Winchester is the capital of Frederick county, it is about ninety miles from Baltimore, but the route I came is 110 miles; a stage runs weekly between the two towns. There are here a jail, court house, six churches and a poor-house. The remains of the brave general Morgan lie in the Presbyterian burying ground.¹¹ There are few inland towns in the United States, which exceed this in trade and population; the inhabitants may be about 4000, and are governed by a mayor and corporation; it was formerly fortified, but the fortifications are now in ruins. They have an excellent supply of water conveyed through the streets in pipes, and rising as in Philadelphia, by means of hydrants.

I met with some Manchester weavers, who have an abundance of country work. Decent boarding may be obtained at 2 dollars, and 2 and a half dollars per week, but travelling charges are higher than might be expected. The people of old Virginia, which includes the whole of the south side of the mountains, affect to consider this north side, or new Virginia, as the back woods; but the country throughout the valley is infinitely superior, both in soil and beauty, to the old territory. The land is in excellent heart, and not worn out, as in the south side, by the cultivation of tobacco and the careless labour of negroes, few of whom, comparatively speaking, are owned here: so that, could human nature be somewhat improved, this district of country, situated between the north and south mountains, might be aptly named the "happy valley." The term, new Virginia, is

¹¹ Daniel Morgan (1736-1802), having learned the art of war on the Virginia frontier, was commissioned a captain in 1775 but rose to the rank of brigadier general. His sharpshooting riflemen were probably more feared by the British than any other unit of the American army. The brilliant victory at Cowpens over Colonel Tarleton in 1781 crowned his career. In 1797 his neighbors sent him to Congress.

used to denote the recent settlement of the country.—The beautiful river Shenandoah adds much to the charms of the scenery, and presents such pleasing variety as to give new delight to the beholder at every view of it. I was invited to be one of a party at a “bull frog frolic,” the sport consists in repairing to the neighbourhood of large ponds, frequented by these animals, and firing promiscuously among them; those that are killed float on the surface, and dogs trained for the purpose bring them out; the hinder parts of the frog is cut off, and makes an excellent soup or fricassee, the body, head and shoulders are thrown away.

I remain, your's, &c.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Woodstock.

FROM Winchester to this place is thirty miles of indifferent road. I passed through the villages of Stevensburgh, Middleton and Strasburgh; the country populous and thriving, and this capital of Shenandoah county a neat little town. I would advise every traveller on this road to carry pistols, and as a preventive is better than a cure, so to expose them to view, as to deter the ill-designing from making an attack. A few years since an unfortunate Philadelphia gentleman, on his way to the springs for recovery of his health, packed his loaded pistols in his trunk; a stout negro seeing him get into his chair at Middleton, and unarmed, attacked him three miles from that village, and murdered him. The wretch after secreting the plunder, joined the hue and cry in the pursuit, and was not discovered to be the perpetrator for some days; he soon after paid the forfeit of his crime, on the spot where the murder was committed. I have had frequent occasion to remark the strong propensity to gambling among the Virginians of

every class, trade, and denomination. It is an extraordinary circumstance, that here, where the laws against gaming are very strict, and almost severe, that vice should be so very prevalent; nay, there are individuals of loose and idle habits, who pursue no other means of livelihood, and in general do not blush to avow their profession. Under the very eye of magistracy itself, gambling houses are winked at, and in these nefarious nests of profligacy and dissipation, is hatched the ruin of many an unfortunate being, whose first visit to these dens of iniquity was probably urged by curiosity, or more likely inveigled by the demon of avarice, the allurements of pleasure, or lucre of gain; these observations forceably occurred on hearing the affecting story and catastrophe of a man addicted to this most dreadful of all propensities.¹²

But three short months have elapsed since the common jail of this town was the scene where the unfortunate Mr. [Reuben Burnley] terminated his earthly career. Endued with strong natural abilities, a graceful exterior and polished manners, the father of Mr. [Burnley] spared no expense in giving the finish to a mind, so calculated to receive every refined and solid improvement, and to the blessings of a respectable fortune and excellent character, was added that greatest of Heaven's gifts, an amiable wife, who brought him three lovely children. An infatuated attachment to gaming soon blasted his fairest prospects, and to make good his deficits at the Pharo Bank, and his losses in business; he procured in London, plates, from which he occasion-

¹² The text beginning "It is an extraordinary circumstance..." is a footnote in the Belfast edition. The context plainly shows it to be properly a part of the main discourse. The footnote is not found in the New York edition where this paragraph ends with the words "and a late melancholy occurrence may not be unworthy your perusal."

ally struck off bank notes to a considerable amount; his expertness in the art of penmanship, enabled him to carry on his iniquitous system for some time without detection, though not free from suspicion; but justice at length overtook him, and while on a journey in this neighbourhood, he was arrested, and lodged in prison. A number of notes were found in his possession, and a quantity which it is supposed he swallowed, prevented the fatal operation of a large dose of laudanum; but to "make assurance doubly sure" he soon afterwards cut his throat from ear to ear, after having lay down in his bed, neatly dressed, as if to receive company. Thus was the law deprived of its victim, and the friends of Mr. [Burnley] left to lament the infatuation which could have induced a man of his attainments to the commission of crimes which, sooner or later, involve the unfortunate in never ending woe and anguish.¹³

How often do we hear of the career of the gamester terminating in suicide; you recollect the eloquent discourses of our worthy friend Doctor Samuel Miller, on this subject; it must be a source of pleasing reflection to him, to know the happy effect his sermons have had in the city of New-York and elsewhere. One man in Boston, actually on the point of applying a deadly weapon to his head, by chance met with a few scattered leaves of this production, and in a publication, afterwards, in one of the Boston Gazettes, he had the candour to avow his intention, and to acknowledge a sincere contrition.

¹³ Reuben Burnley (1766-1808) was the son of Zachariah Burnley of Orange County, who was for many years a member of the House of Burgesses. Reuben Burnley was at one time a clerk in the office of Colonel William Davies, Commissioner of Accounts for settling the claims of Virginia against the United States. He committed suicide about June 15, on the morning he was to have been arraigned. "Lewis Summers' Journal of a Tour from Alexandria, Virginia, to Gallipolis, Ohio, in 1808," *Southern Historical Magazine*, Vol. 1, Feb., 1892, p. 53.

It is well known that since the delivery and publication of those well-timed productions, the crime of suicide has been scarcely heard of in New-York.¹⁴

I am, dear friend,
Your's, very truly.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Harrisonburgh.

I left Woodstock after dinner, and came that night to Shrylocks,¹⁵ only five miles; it being nearly dark, when we arrived at the narrow passage, I cannot give you a perfect account of it. It derives its name from the road lying between the steep and interesting banks of the Shenandoah, on one side, and a romantic declivity to a rapid creek on the other; it is about a mile from Shrylocks, and well worthy a more minute description:—Pollock's tavern is eight miles further; it is an excellent inn, about a quarter of a mile from the ford of the Shenandoah; the ford is pretty deep and rapid, and often dangerous. I was told the waters had fallen, and I passed it without apprehension. A few weeks since, Miss——, a young lady from near Staunton, lost her life in attempting this very pass. The story is truly melancholy, and her fate peculiarly lamentable. She was on her way, in the stage coach, to her parental roof, after paying a visit, and was shortly to have been united in marriage to the lover of her choice—this is no exag-

¹⁴ Samuel Miller, D. D., (1769-1850) was associated with Dr. John Rodgers and Dr. John McKnight in a collegiate pastorate of the united Presbyterian churches of New York City. With the separation of the three churches in 1809, he became pastor of the Wall Street congregation. In 1813 he became professor at Princeton Theological Seminary, of which he was a founder. His extensive writings include *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* (1803), and *The Guilt, Folly, and Sources of Suicide: Two Discourses, Preached in the City of New York, February, 1805* (1805).

¹⁵ Shrylocks is now Edinburg.

gerated account, but the real story of the lovely subject of this sad tale. One of the horses took fright and alarmed the passengers, a man passing the ford on horseback persuaded Miss—— to quit the coach and mount behind him; in the attempt she lost her hold, but still clung to the stirrup, which, in fear for his own safety, the man wrested from her grasp, and she sunk to the bottom;—again she rose, and with an indignant look directed to the terror-struck and nerveless by-standers on the beach, she had sufficient recollection to arrange her clothes, and sunk forever from their view.

New Market is, I think, eight miles from the river, and eighteen miles further is this flourishing little town of Harrisonburgh, the capital of Rockingham county, where we slept. About twelve miles, in a southerly direction, is the new discovered cave, which, as the weather is now damp, I propose visiting on my return. Gamble's tavern, in this town, is a most excellent inn.

I am, very sincerely,

Your affectionate friend.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Staunton.

THE land between Harrisonburgh and this place is good, like most of that which I have passed in the valley. The town of Staunton is neat, flourishing, and increasing; the inhabitants are about 3000, industrious and respectable; such is the salubrity of the air, the goodness of the water, the excellence of the taverns, and their moderate charges, as to induce many travellers, on their way to the springs, to spend some weeks here: and invalids have reaped considerable advantage by the delay. Caution is requisite in drinking too freely of the water, which is strongly impregnated with lime, but in a few days becomes palatable to the taste, and beneficial

to a variety of complaints. In the neighbourhood a spa¹⁶ has been lately discovered, but its medicinal properties have not yet been fully analyzed. The Presbyterian minister serves one congregation here, and one three miles distant; I proceeded to the latter to join in the worship, and to witness the celebration of the Lord's Supper; and here was a scene exhibited, which, if they had beheld it, would have made the bigotted zealots of our Eastern States blush for the effrontery with which they so often charge their southern brethren with impiety and want of religious decorum. The unaffected zeal of the four associating clergymen, the genuine spirit of religion in the people shown forth in their humility, their sorrow, and their repentance, spoke more to the heart and the feelings of an attentive observer, than the most costly sacrifice of grandeur, or the vain-glorious professions of the lofty Pharisee. Here, indeed, was a sight to lift the mind of the worldly man from the vain pursuits of time. The Reverend Patriarchal Montgomery, the energetic Brown, the eloquent Calhoun, and another minister, equally sincere, all labouring in the cause of their heavenly master, while a listening and devout people, at times joined them in the fervency of prayer, at times aspirated their thanksgiving and praise in sweetest melody, or attentively hearkened to the words of instruction, expounded from the book of life. When the mind disengages itself from worldly pursuits and trivial attachments, surely there cannot be a more lovely or interesting view of our brethren of mankind, than to see them united as one family, in the great work of prayer, praise and thanksgiving; alike free from that

¹⁶ "Spa" in the New York edition was changed to the archaic form "spaw" in the Belfast edition. Other archaic or incorrect spellings in the Belfast edition have been changed to conform to the New York edition.

bigotry or superstition, pomp or parade so inconsistent with the true principles of their profession.¹⁷

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Lexington.

ON leaving Staunton I quit the direct road to the springs, that I might visit the Natural Bridge. I passed through the villages of Greenville and Fairfield, and arrived early at this place, being a distance of thirty-three miles. Here is the Washington, or Liberty-hall Academy, established and endowed by General Washington, out of part of the monies voted him by the legislature of this his native state.¹⁸ This great man's entire life seemed devoted to his country's good, and he was truly anxious for the welfare of posterity. Conscious that the happiness and well-being of a nation, depends on the principles of virtue and wisdom, instilled into the minds of the rising generation; he on every occasion evinced an anxious solicitude for the establish-

¹⁷ This service was held at Brown's Meeting House, now Hebron Church. John Montgomery (d. 1818), a native of Augusta County, graduated from the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) in 1775. Having inherited lands in Augusta County, he returned there in 1789 and became pastor of Lebanon and Rocky Spring Churches. Here he remained the rest of his life.

Samuel Brown (1766-1818), a native of Bedford County, attended Liberty Hall Academy (now Washington and Lee University). In 1796 he became pastor of New Providence Church near Brownsburg. Two years later he married Mary Moore, who as a child of nine had been taken captive in Abb's Valley by Indians. The Browns are buried in New Providence churchyard.

William Calhoon (1772-1851), a native of Prince Edward County, attended Hampden-Sydney College. In 1792 he went as a missionary to Kentucky, but returned to Virginia in 1799. Later he accepted a call to Staunton and Brown's Meeting House, which he served until the infirmities of age forced him to retire. William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, New York, 1857-1869, Vol. 3, p. 237, 393, Vol. 4, p. 74-83.

¹⁸ Founded in 1749, this academy is now Washington and Lee University. George Washington did not establish the school, but his gift is still a part of its endowment.

ment of such seminaries, as might best conduce to this all important purpose, and further his grand object of a national university, to which he also left a handsome bequest. He says in his will—"It has always been a source of serious regret with me, to see the youth of these United States, sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education, often before their minds were formed, or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own; contracting, too frequently, not only the habits of dissipation and extravagance, *but principles unfriendly to republican government, and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind*, which thereafter are rarely overcome; for these reasons it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised, on a liberal scale, which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire; thereby to do away local [attachments and State] prejudices, as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit from our national councils." He then bequeaths a large and generous legacy for the accomplishment of his wishes, in the erection and endowment of an university in the district of Columbia. The school in Lexington is not, I am told, in so flourishing a state as formerly; there are now, however, about eighty students, who pay a very moderate sum for their board and education. There is also a school of some celebrity for young ladies.¹⁹ The situation is healthy, the town neat, and provisions cheap and plenty. It is the capital of Rock-bridge county.

I am, your's affectionately.

¹⁹ The Ann Smith Academy, a classical school for females, was opened in 1807 and incorporated the next year. It was named for its first principal. In 1910 the academy property was turned over to the Lexington School Board. Henry Boley, *Lexington in Old Virginia*, Richmond, 1936; p. 77-80.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

[*Natural Bridge.*]

I WRITE this from Douthit's tavern, one mile and a half from the Natural Bridge, and thirteen miles from Lexington; having just now returned from the bridge, I had determined on giving you a concise description of this sublime object; but fearing to fall short of the truth, I have turned to Mr. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, from whence I copy the following extract. "It is on the ascent of a hill which seems to have been cloven through its length by some great convulsion. The fissure just at the bridge is by some admeasurement, 270 feet deep, by others only 205; it is about 45 feet wide at the bottom, and 90 feet at the top; this of course determines the length of the bridge, and its height from the water. Its breadth at the middle is about 60 feet, but more at the ends, and the thickness of the mass at the summit of the arch, about 40 feet; a part of this thickness is constituted by a coat of earth, which gives growth to many large trees; the residue, with the hill on both sides, is one solid rock of limestone. The arch approaches the semi-elliptical form, but the larger axis of ellipsis which would be the chord of the arch, is many times longer than the transverse. Though the sides of this bridge are provided in some parts with a parapet of fixed rocks, yet few men have the resolution to walk to them, and look over into the abyss; you involuntarily fall upon your hands and feet, creep to the parapet, and peep over it, looking down from this height about a minute, gave me a violent head-ache. If the view from the top be painful and intolerable, that from below is delightful in an equal extreme. It is impossible for the emotions arising from the sublime, to be felt beyond what they are here: so beautiful an arch; so elevated,

so light, and springing, as it were, up to heaven!—The rapture of the spectator is really indescribable. The fissure continuing narrow, deep and strait for a considerable distance both above and below the bridge, opens to a short, but very pleasing view of the north mountains on one side, and the blue ridge on the other, at the distance, each of them, of about five miles. This bridge is in the county of Rockbridge, to which it has given name; it affords a public and commodious passage over a valley, which cannot be crossed elsewhere for a considerable distance. The stream passing under it is called Cedar creek; it is a water of James' river, and sufficient in the driest season to turn a grist mill, though its fountain is not more than two miles above." I felt so strongly "the emotions arising from the sublime," that I could not in plain rational language convey to you my ideas of what I had seen, so you may be well pleased that I thought of the extract. I am here informed that Mr. Jefferson, since the publication of his *Notes on Virginia*, which first gave celebrity to this wonder of nature, has purchased from the United States, fifteen acres of land, in the midst of which stands the bridge, and perhaps no private estate in the world can produce a grander or a more surprising subject of admiration.²⁰

Adieu.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Sweet Springs.

MY road from the bridge lay through Patonsburgh,²¹ twelve miles; here is a ferry across James' River, but I preferred going three miles further, and crossing a very

²⁰ On July 5, 1774, Thomas Jefferson was granted a patent for 157 acres including the Natural Bridge on Cedar Creek. This was ten years before the first edition of his *Notes on Virginia* appeared.

²¹ Patonsburgh is now the northern part of Buchanan.

handsome bridge, which made the distance ten miles to Fincastle, the capital of Botetourt county; it is about 200 miles W. by N. of Richmond, and is a thriving little town. Some excellent farms are in the neighbourhood—Mr. Brackenridge has the most extensive; his house is elegant, and his demesne handsomely laid out.²² The usual route from Fincastle to this place is a distance of above fifty miles, but I came direct over the mountain, and reduced my travelling to 22 miles. I had, however, much difficulty to encounter, and was assured that I was the first person who attempted crossing the mountains in a carriage, those vehicles being usually sent round, while their owners preferred the less dangerous method of riding on horseback. I was, however, obliged to procure the aid of a very strong horse, to assist my quadruped in hauling over the chair, and arrived without accident, to the no small surprise of the visitors at the springs.

There is a post office kept here, which I presume is unproductive, as company only resort to the springs from June to August, or beginning of September.—There are upwards of eighty thousand miles of post roads, and more than two thousand post offices in the United States, and this must be one of the many that does not yield revenue. The waters of these springs have never yet been correctly analyzed. Some people assert, while others deny their efficacy in pulmonary complaints; they act both as a purgative and a diuretic, and are peculiarly useful in relieving the patient from the bad effects of a course of mercury. There are ac-

²² James Breckenridge (1763-1833), a soldier in the Revolution, was later a major general of Virginia militia and served in the War of 1812. A leader of the Federalist party in Virginia, he represented his district in Congress from 1809 to 1817. On his ancestral estate near Fincastle he built a beautiful home, "Grove Hill," which burned in 1909.

commodations here for two hundred persons; families are provided with cabins of two, three, or four rooms with furniture, individuals with loghouses, roomy or crowded, according to the increase of the company, and all that are able, meet at the public table, to a plentiful breakfast, dinner and supper, where there is little appearance of ill health or want of appetite in the majority. Wine is seldom introduced; music and dancing frequently crown the evening, and cards are resorted to, by many, more to pass time than through a spirit of gaming, although there are professed gamblers, at this place, who have set up a Pharo Bank, but must starve for want of trade, unless they meet more encouragement than the present water-drinking folks seem inclined to give them. We have neither church nor clergyman within many miles, but have been favoured, this day, Sunday, with a sermon by one of our party, the composition was plain, correct and well delivered, and the audience attentive and apparently edified. Your friend!

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Sweet Springs.

THE charge for boarding is seven dollars per week, and half a dollar per day for each horse; this is extravagantly high for the latter, as hay, oats and corn are remarkably low. This place was formerly in Greenbriar, but now makes part of Munroe county. It is surrounded by mountainous country, but there are in the vallies very fine tracts of grazing and meadow lands; grain too of every description is plentifully produced, and hemp grows to great perfection. There are large quantities and varieties of game, and you may frequently purchase venison at one cent, beef and mutton at three cents per lb. and chickens at six cents per pair; of fish the supply is small, though they say they

sometimes have good cat fish, as large as a 100-lbs. weight, from New River. The Rattlesnake mountain is five miles from hence, and many curious persons have visited it, but the danger of the excursion, and the difficulty of ascent prevented me from satisfying my curiosity. It is said that this reptile is harmless and inoffensive, unless when attacked, and that it then gives notice of its hostility ere it strikes its poison.

This being the anniversary of our independence, one of our company gave us an oration on the occasion, and very justly remarked, "that so long as this day was commemorated, and its return hailed with joy and thankfulness, so long would our republican institutions be supported, so long would the glorious spirit of 1776 dwell within us."

About one mile from these springs is another spa;—a considerable sum of money has been expended in building houses and accommodations for company, but it is now totally deserted, and I am told the present possessor is involved in a chancery suit respecting the premises.²³

The company here feel much interested for old Mr. E[ppes], who is confined, with very little hope of recovery; his son is his constant nurse and attendant, scarcely moving from his bed-side, so that we enjoy but little of his society. It is pleasing to see the man whose voice thunders in the senate, whose eloquence and virtue entitle him to the applause of his country, thus exercising his filial affection, smoothing the bed of death, and gently tending the expiring lamp of the author of his being. It is on such occasions we can best appreciate character, and cannot refuse our love and our esteem

²³ The Red Sweet Springs which is now the Sweet Chalybeate Springs in Alleghany County, Virginia. Monroe County is now in West Virginia.

to a man thus performing the *double duty* of the most dutiful son, and the most affectionate friend.²⁴

Adieu.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Red Sulphur Springs.

THIS place is forty miles from the Sweet Springs, in a westerly direction. Union-town, the capital of Munroe county, is half way, and consists of a jail, court house, and about a dozen dwellings. About twenty miles to the northward is Lewisburgh, the capital of Green-briar county. Old Mr. E[ppes] died the day I left the Sweet Springs, and never did I see the expression of grief more strongly portrayed, or the distress of the heart more forcibly depicted, than in the countenance of his afflicted son.

The virtues and medicinal qualities of these Red Sulphur Springs were known, it is supposed, for ages by the Indians, but the first intimation the present possessors had, of there being so great a treasure on their farm, arose from the circumstance of deer and other tenants of the woods frequently resorting to it. It has, within these six or eight years, become a place of great celebrity, though I think their situation very unfit for delicate constitutions. I would recommend invalids bringing with them warm clothing, some wine, and a supply of such medicine as they may be in the practice of using at home. We seldom see the sun until nine, nor

²⁴ Francis Eppes (1747-1808) of "Eppington" in Chesterfield County, Virginia, a friend of President Thomas Jefferson, had married Mrs. Jefferson's half-sister. His only son was John Wayles Eppes (1773-1823), a member of the House of Representatives from 1803 to 1811 and from 1813 to 1817, and a member of the Senate from 1817 to 1819. (See footnote on page 37.) As used here "senate" is synonymous with Congress. James Henry Bailey, "John Wayles Eppes, Planter and Politician," unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Virginia, 1942, p. 58.

after five o'clock, and heavy fogs are so frequent, that we found it necessary to burn fires in the mornings and evenings of the month of August, while many invalids kept their rooms until the mists would be dispelled by the force of the sun beams.

The water is very sulphurous, but so extremely cold as to be hurtful to many who used it incautiously. I was, however, witness to surprising cures performed by it. In the vicinity of this place is a sycamore tree, perfectly sound, thirty-six feet in circumference, with most amazingly extended branches, and a great height, I measured it at some distance from the root. Indiana Creek is crossed thirty-one times between Union Town and this place. It runs through a cave, in a mountain, of a quarter of a mile in extent, where are manufactories of salt-petre.

New River is six miles to the westward; it is a broad shallow stream, and when joined by Green-briar river, forms the Kenhawa; it falls into the Ohio, and if Mr. Gallatin's masterly report to Congress, "On Roads and Navigation" be carried into effect, there will be a complete communication opened between these Western states and the Atlantic Ocean, by the Lakes and the Hudson river, in the State of New-York. If we may anticipate the rising greatness of our country by the events which have taken place within the last fifty years, we may fairly hope that this navigation will be opened, and unite, even by closer ties, the people at the extremes of this vast extended Continent. The rapid and surprising improvement in steam boats, the laudable and prevalent disposition for new discoveries, the advancement in agriculture, arts and manufactures, the increasing spirit of energy, speculation and trade, all combine to convince that these United States promise fair to be the

emporium of cultivation, and the garden of the world. That immense tract of country called the "Illinois," is perhaps superior in beauty and fertility, to any other in the United States, and many travellers think it equal to any in the world. Its appearance is so delightful, that some French travellers call it the "Terrestrial paradise;"—grapes are in such abundance that they yield, in plenty, a very good red wine, for the consumption of the inhabitants. The Illinois river empties itself into the Mississippi, on the east side, 160 miles below the Falls of St. Anthony, and is navigable about 450 miles; between one of its branches and the Chickago river, which empties itself into lake Michigan, there is a portage of two miles; from this portage to the lake is a batteaux navigation of 16 miles; so that by this communication there would only be a land carriage of 28 miles; between New-York and New-Orleans, a distance of nearly 4000 miles. I am thus particular, as I think the Illinois will be the most eligible country in the United States for new settlers, or emigrants from the eastward. Kashaskia is the capital of this new-formed territory. Vessels of burthen trade to and from it. The peltry trade will be very considerable.

I am, yours, &c.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Warm Springs.

ON leaving the Red Sulphur, I returned to the Sweet Springs, and from thence took a ride to Bowyer's Sulphur Springs, the strongest of any I have tasted. They are about 17 miles from the Sweet Springs, across the mountain, which is not passable for carriages; the distance by the public road is 45 miles. Bowyer's waters have been found highly beneficial for disorders of the

blood, and cutaneous complaints.²⁵ Here I received a well authenticated account of the harmless disposition of the rattlesnake, when unprovoked. A Mr. Bollen, when an infant, had seated himself with his mush and milk on the green before the door, when his terrified mother beheld him holding his spoonful of food to the mouth of a rattlesnake; she had no assistance at hand, and the fear of irritating the animal, and endangering the life of her child, induced her to keep quiet. The snake conveyed its head into the bowl, and after cordially partaking of little Bollen's fare, departed; the next day, about the same hour, the snake again appeared, when it was killed by a negro, and the skin preserved as a memento of a remarkable deliverance. The Hot Springs are in Bath county, 36 miles from the Sweet Springs. Here are three baths, one of vital heat, or 96 degrees of Farenheit's thermometer: one of 104°, and it is said that the hottest is 112°, and sufficiently hot to boil an egg. The patient, on coming out of the two latter, is wrapped up in blankets, and lies stewing in the sweating room adjoining the bath, until the perspiration has freely spent itself from every pore of the body. I was shown the remains of an Indian sweating house, and was informed it was supplied with a large fire, and a number of stones, which, when made hot, were sprinkled with water, and the patient, after being drenched in vapour, leaped into a cold bath, but came out instantly, and was then enveloped in blankets until perspiration had its full effect. A petrified rattlesnake is preserved by a person in this neighbourhood, where there is a water said to possess this quality. The Warm Springs,

²⁵ Bowyer's Sulphur Springs is now the Greenbrier White Sulphur Springs. Michael Bowyer in 1784 obtained a patent for 950 acres including the springs. This land originally had been patented by his wife's father, Nathan Carpenter. William Alexander MacCorkle, *The White Sulphur Springs*, New York, 1916, p. 50-53.

from whence I date this letter, are five miles from the Hot Springs; here is, perhaps, the largest and most elegant bath in the world. The water is blood warm, and bubbling out of the rock underneath, can be raised or lowered at the pleasure of the bathers; both it and the Hot Springs are highly useful in the cure of rheumatisms, and many other complaints have been relieved by their efficacy. From the mountain above the spring, there is a most delightful and extensive prospect, but it requires both strength and fortitude in an invalid to attain the summit. The farmers in this neighbourhood, and to the westward, make great quantities of maple sugar, some as much as 1000 weight in a year. The process is simply cutting a hole in the tree, and placing a wooden trough underneath to catch the sap, which oozes in February and March, six or eight gallons per day, from each tree. This quantity, when boiled down, produces about one pound of sugar, or one pound and a half of molasses, both good and palatable. The tree should be suffered to remain unnotched until twenty-one years old; it is properly called the sugar tree, and it is distinguished from the common maple by both its bark and leaf being rougher. I am, your's truly.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Wier's Cave.

ON quitting the Warm Springs, I came the direct road for Staunton, instead of pursuing the circuitous route by Lexington. Staunton is 54 miles from the Warm Springs, and this place (Wier's Cave) is 16 miles from Staunton. Madison's Cave, mentioned in Mr. Jefferson's Notes is now abandoned as an object of curiosity, and is about a quarter of a mile from Wier's Cave, which was discovered in February, 1806, by a pole cat's being caught in a trap, and retreating

for shelter to the Cave, to which a dog pursued her. The owner of the dog enlarged the hole by which the animal entered, and discovered the place from whence I now write to you.²⁶ It is certainly the most remarkable subterraneous curiosity on this Continent, or perhaps in the world, and is well worth the attention of an observing traveller. The entrance, and even after you proceed some paces, is by no means calculated to increase the ardour for research, but advancing further, and getting into the midst of a variety of cones and cylindrical pillars, gives fresh hopes and vigour for further discovery. In order to designate the different objects of this Cave, I shall give to each the name affixed to it by our conductor. The drawing room is the first large opening, after creeping and going through a number of narrow passages, in which we were frequently obliged to get forward on our hands and knees, to guard our heads from being broke by the crystalizations which hung over them, and to ascend and descend by artificial, and oftentimes crazy ladders. The dining room is the next large apartment, here are a great number of pillars and busts, which, on the first approach, appear to be indebted for their shape to the art of the chisel, and a variety of chairs, decorated like Bishop's stalls, give it the appearance of a cathedral; this room is 39 yards long; adjoining is a collection of tamboreens, or natural drums, formed by sheets or curtains of petrification, and sounding, when struck, like the martial instrument from which they are named. The ball room is 42 yards long, 15 wide, and about 30 feet high, the appearance of a music gallery at one end, adds to the

²⁶ Weyer's Cave, later called Grottoes of the Shenandoah and now renamed Grand Caverns, is three-fourths of a mile west of the village of Grottoes. It was discovered by Bernard Weyer, a hunter and pioneer of German ancestry, who later settled in Ohio.

deception which the mind encourages in this romantic grotto; here is a very curious pillar and also a number of columns, extending from top to bottom; near this is the resemblance of a grand chair of state, called the President's chair; a representation of a bank of ice, as white and transparent as the native original, and seemingly underneath, a beautiful cascade of falling water. Washington room is 90 yards long, and of an immense height; a bust stands nearly in the centre, and at a distance, so like the great man whose name it bears, that nature, though only showing her skill in its formation by drops of water, falling for ages, from the lofty ceiling above, could not be excelled by the most skilful statuary. An admirer of the virtues of this best of men, while gazing on his likeness in this spell-bound cavern, can only be prevented by respect for the second commandment, from falling down and worshipping. Lady Washington's room opens out of the last mentioned. The diamond room takes its name from the variety of chrystalizations and transparencies it exhibits; our lights were not sufficiently splendid, but had they done justice to the scene before us, I question if the eye could be presented with a more glittering or magnificent object. The enchanted room contains the image of "Lot's wife" in the very act of tripping away, and turning her head half around, when she was caught in the act, and paid the dear forfeit of her curiosity. She has now as much the appearance of a pillar of salt as of petrification. How happy for mankind, if the evils brought on families and on society, by their foibles, which Mrs. Lot undoubtedly inherited from her mother Eve, were to be done away, by a few such examples of terrific justice! I denominated a very rough passage the wilderness of sin, and John Bunyan himself could not

have painted a more terrific road into the garden of Eden, where the perspective presented a pleasing assemblage of trees, shrubs, variegated walks, and ornamental flowering plants. The *tout ensemble* appearing like a petrified flower garden, formed by nature in her playful moments, as if for her own amusement. In the bar room there is a spring of cool water, and as the conductor is generally provided with a bottle of brandy, the almost exhausted strength of the explorer may here be recruited. The mountain of salt, better described by the name it bears than any idea I can give of it, is not the least wonderful of the works of nature in this cavern. On the whole, it is highly worth the attention of the curious, the notice of the naturalist, and the observation of the philosophic traveller: and where is the contemplative being that visits it, and views the sublime and grand scenery I witnessed in the close of the day, in the ascent, on the top, and in the descent of the majestic blue mountains, that is not prepared to cry out in extacy, with the poet,

“These are thy glorious works, Parent of Good!”

The good people throughout this part of the country which is but thinly settled, have an uncouth way of conferring an obligation. They will neither take out licences, nor suffer their houses to be called taverns, and yet they entertain guests in what they term private entertainment. They tell the way-worn traveller he m-a-y stay all night, but they make him pay tavern prices in the morning. From the Cave to the beautiful village of Charlottesville, where I finish this letter, is 37 computed miles; in this vicinity are some handsome farms and elegant houses, the spacious and well appointed mansion

and ground of Mr. Divers, are well worth notice,²⁷ but as I have already extended this letter to an unreasonable length, I shall break off, and in my next entertain you with an account of Monticello, three miles from Charlottesville, And remain your's, &c.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Milton.

THIS village is three miles from the seat of Mr. Jefferson, President of the United States; my stay there did not exceed one hour, and my opportunity of converse with this great man was much shorter than I wished; however from my own observation, and from correct and authentic information, I am enabled to give you such an account of Monticello and its philosophic owner, as may afford you gratification and entertainment, and as the most minute particulars respecting so eminent a character, and whatever may concern him, must interest you, I hope I shall not be accused of prolixity. Thomas —— is the oldest surviving son of Peter Jefferson; he has one brother and three sisters yet living, most of them have families; he had six children; two daughters alone lived to maturity; one married to Mr. John Eppes, the other to Mr. Thomas M. Randolph; the patriotism and talents of both these gentlemen are well known to the community. Mrs. Eppes died about five years since, and left two children, one of whom is since dead. Mr. and Mrs. Randolph lived near this place; they have a large family of children, and reside with the President during his visits

²⁷ George Divers owned Farmington, which was remodeled after 1803 on a plan prepared by his friend, Thomas Jefferson. Farmington is now a country club.

to Monticello.²⁸ Mr. Jefferson is very regular and temperate in his mode of living; he retires to his chamber about nine o'clock, and rises before the sun, both in summer and winter, and it is not easy to conceive a more grand or sublime sight than the rising of the sun viewed from the summit of Monticello. Until breakfast, which is early, he is employed in writing, after that he generally visits his work-shops, labourers, &c. and then, until 12 o'clock, he is engaged in his study, either in drawing, writing or reading; he then rides over his plantation, returns at two, dresses for dinner, and joins his company; he retires from table soon after the cloth is removed, and spends the evening in walking about, reading the papers, and in conversation with such guests as may be with him. His disposition is truly amiable, easy of access, quick and ready in the dispatch of business, and so condescending and naturally pleasing in his manners and address, that no person, at all acquainted with him, can feel in his presence perplexity or embarrassment. Mr. Jefferson is seen to less advantage at the seat of government, than at this, his favourite residence.

Monticello is a conical hill;—its summit, on which stands the house, is 500 feet above the adjoining country. The view from hence is extensive, variegated and

²⁸ Thomas Jefferson's brother was Randolph Jefferson (1755-1815) of "Snowden" in Buckingham County. His living sisters were Mary (b. 1741), wife of John Bolling; Martha (1746-1811), widow of Jefferson's friend Dabney Carr (1743-1773), and Ann Scott, a twin of Randolph and wife of Hastings Marks. Thomas Jefferson's younger daughter Mary or Maria (1778-1804) married in 1797 John Wayles Eppes. (See footnote on page 28.) Jefferson's eldest daughter, Martha (1772-1836), married in 1790 Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr., (1768-1828) of "Edgehill." He was a member of the House of Representatives from 1803 to 1807 and Governor of Virginia from 1819 to 1822. The Randolphs had in all twelve children, of whom nine had been born at this time. Reginald Buchanan Henry, *Genealogies of the Families of the Presidents*, Rutland, 1935, p. 95-135.

charming; to the west the blue mountains, at a distance of about fifteen miles bound the prospect, while to the north and east, the eye wanders in rapture over an expanse of, I think, 45 miles; and can distinguish particular objects at that distance. It is near a mile from the public road which leads between Charlottesville and Milton. In a few years, when some improvements, now begun, are complete, the approach will be worthy the taste of the proprietor.

The house is an irregular octagon, with porticoes on the east and west sides, and piazzas on the north and south ends. Its extent, including the porticoes and piazzas, is about one hundred and ten by ninety feet; the external is finished in the Doric order complete, with a ballustrade on the top of it. In the centre of the S. W. side, over the parlour, is an attic story, terminated with a dome, which has a fine effect, and forms a beautiful room inside. The internal of the house contains specimens of all the different orders, except the composite, which is not introduced; the hall is in the Ionic, the dining room in the Doric, the parlour in the Corinthian, and dome in the Attic; in the other rooms are introduced several different forms of these orders all in the truest proportions, according to Palladio. On the ground floor are eleven rooms; on the second, six; and on the attic, four; there are cellars under the whole. Through the antes of the house, from N. to S. on the cellar floor, is a passage of 300 feet long, leading to two wings or ranges of building of one story, that stand equi-distant from each end of the house, and extend 120 feet eastwardly from the passages, terminated by a pavillion of two stories at the end of each. The roofs of the passages, and range of buildings, form an agreeable walk, being flat and floored, and are to have a

Chinese railing round them; they rise but a little height above the lawn, that they may not obstruct the view. On the south side are the kitchen, smoke-house, dairy, waste house and servants' rooms; on the north are the ice house, coach houses, &c. &c. The library is extensive, and contains, as might indeed be expected, a vast collection of rare and valuable works, on all subjects, and in all languages. Mr. Jefferson has also a large collection of mathematical, philosophical, and optical instruments, and Indian curiosities. Among the latter are busts of a male and female, sitting in the Indian position; they are supposed to be of great antiquity, and to have been formed by the Indians: they were ploughed up in the state of Tennessee, are of very hard stone, but considerably defaced; there is also in the hall a representation of a battle between the Panis and Osage; also, a map of the Missouri and its tributary streams, both executed by Indians, on dressed buffaloe hides; bows, arrows, and quivers, poisoned lances, pipes of peace, wampum belts, mockasins, &c. &c. several dresses, and cooking utensils of the Mandan and other nations of the Missouri. The statuary in the hall consists of a colossal bust of Mr. Jefferson, by Carrachi, it is on a truncated column, on the pedestal of which are represented the twelve tribes of Israel, and the twelve signs of the Zodiac. A full length figure of Cleopatra, in a reclining position, after she had applied the asp, and busts of Voltaire and Thurgot, in plaister; there is likewise a model of one of the pyramids of Egypt. In the parlour are busts of the emperors Alexander of Russia, and Napoleon of France, sitting on columns, and a sleeping Venus. In the bow of the dining room are busts of General Washington, Doctor Franklin, Marquis de La Fayette, and

Paul Jones, in plaister. The collection of paintings is considered by connoisseurs to be of the first rate.— Among them is the Ascension, by Poussin; the Holy Family, by Raphael; scourging of Christ, by Reubens; Crucifixion, by Guido; and a great many other scripture and historic pieces, by the first masters; portraits, prints, medallions, medals, &c. of celebrated characters and events. The collection of natural curiosities is tolerably extensive, and consists of mammoth and other bones, horns of different kinds, a head of the mountain ram, petrifications, chrystalizations, minerals, shells, &c. In short, it is supposed there is no private gentleman in the world in possession of so perfect and complete a scientific, useful and ornamental collection. His lands adjoining Monticello are said to be about eleven thousand acres. About fifteen hundred acres of cleared land, and a proportion of his negroes are hired out, as his public duties, since he became President, have prevented his engaging in agricultural pursuits: he proposes, however, making a beginning next year, and no doubt the farming community will be benefited both by his observations and practice. He has a merchant mill, which he lets at a rent of 1200 dollars per annum, and a grist mill which he works himself. He has a large tract of land in Bedford county, where he raises annually about 40,000 wt. of tobacco, and grain sufficient to maintain the plantations. He keeps no stock of horses or cattle here, but uses mules for his waggons. The number of his negroes are about two hundred. His flock of sheep are valuable, although not numerous; they consist of the Cape or large tail, Shetland, and Marino breed. The only manufactories at present carried on by him, are at Bedford, of Smith's work, and at Monticello a nailery, the latter conducted by boys; but he is making

arrangements for the manufacture of cotton and woollens, on his return to domestic life. The garden, though justly celebrated for variety of delicious fruit, has been much neglected, but Mr. Jefferson proposes making considerable improvements, useful and oramental, both here and in his pleasure grounds.

I am, dear friend,

Your's, very truly.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Alexandria.

AT length I am arrived in this city, after repeatedly losing myself in the woods. I can say with truth I have found the roads in Virginia to be, as the Poet represents the ways of Providence, "puzzled in mazes and perplexed in errors." Between Milton and Orange Court-houses I met a great number of persons going to a funeral and a sermon, which it is usual in this country, I understand, to preach on these occasions. Montpelier, the seat of Mr. Secretary Madison,²⁹ is near Orange Court-house; from the latter place I took the private or middle³⁰ road, it being recommended to me by the President, in preference to either of the other public roads, one of which goes by Fredericksburgh, and the other by Culpepper Court-house, this last is his winter route to and from the city; but the road I travelled is the best and coolest for a summer journey. I passed through Stephensburgh, a decayed looking village, and at Slaughter's mills, three miles further, I witnessed a scene to me altogether novel and equally pleasing. There were assembled about 400 ladies and gentlemen

²⁹ James Madison (1751-1836) was then Secretary of State in the cabinet of President Jefferson. He soon became the fourth president of the United States.

³⁰ The words "or middle" are from the New York edition.

from round the country, to the extent of 30 miles, as elegantly and fashionably dressed, as good taste and good clothes could make them: they met at this place in the morning, and had been the entire day engaged in dancing, conversation, or other amusements. Refreshments of every kind had been liberally provided by the guests themselves. I understood these merry meetings (termed barbies) were very frequent during the summer, and I observed that the hope of soon assembling at another, took the sting from adieu when about to part. A Virginia barbie seems a day of rejoicing and jubilee to the whole of the surrounding country. The next town I passed, is called Occoquan mills, a new place settled by Mr. Ellicott, one of the industrious and respectable family of that name;³¹ it is 16 miles from this city of Alexandria, where there is but little appearance of improvement since my last visit, three years ago; it is in Fairfax county,³² on the south side of the Potowmack; the situation is pleasant, and the original settlers laid out the streets on the plan of Philadelphia. It contains about 780 houses and 6000 inhabitants. The new bridge erecting over the Potowmack, will reduce the distance to the capitol in the Federal city, to about six miles. I intend proceeding to Washington tomorrow.³³

I am, my dear friend,

Your's affectionately.

³¹ Nathaniel Ellicott, a well-to-do Quaker, who owned the mills in the neighborhood, had in 1801 engaged John Davis, the English novelist, "to educate his children for a quarter of a year." In 1804 Ellicott, James Campbell, and Luke Wheeler obtained an Act establishing the town of Occoquan. Fairfax Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William*, Richmond, 1924, Vol. 2, p. 429, 667.

³² Alexandria was at this time within the District of Columbia.

³³ This sentence is from the New York edition.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Washington.

HAD the original plan of this capital of the United States been more moderate, the 1200 houses which it now contains, would have made a neat and compact city, but scattered as they are, on hills and vallies, and avenues and dales, it is difficult to give you an idea of the confusion that strikes the eye, the first and most prominent object is the capitol, of which only the two wings are finished, and a vacant space left between them, where is to be erected the centre, or great body of the building; it is situated on the most elevated scite in the city, and will be surrounded by a large square, part of which is already built on. In one wing is the representative's chamber, which, for elegance of taste, and simplicity of design, cannot, I think, be exceeded by any room in the world; in the other is the senate chamber, library, courts of laws, &c. The Pensylvania avenue runs in a direct line from the centre of the capitol to the President's house, it is 160 feet wide, and a noble walk on each side for foot passengers; the President's house is a neat, plain building, of hewn stone, two stories high, 170 feet wide, and 85 feet deep. The public offices are erected equi-distant from each end of the President's house, and communications have been begun between them, but their distance from the capitol being one mile, has been already found to be a serious evil; official documents and papers are so repeatedly required during the sitting of congress, as to occasion frequent delay, before they can be obtained from the public offices. There are very many among the members, who wish for a removal of the seat of government back to Philadelphia, but so long as the southern members hold their influence, the party for removal cannot succeed, and it would appear reasonable if such

a resolution should be adopted, that the speculators in property in Washington, on the faith of the nation should be indemnified for the breach of that faith. Such an indemnification would be too great for our treasury fund, in all likelihood, for years to come; but we may hope that the real evils so justly complained of by many respectable members will be done away, and that little prejudicial interests in favour of removal will give place to a sense of public good. The navy-yard is better than a mile from the capitol, on the north east branch of the Potowmack; there is good depth of water, and sufficient space for any navy this country can ever have collected here. George-town is two miles from the capitol (the President's house being half way) it is a large corporate town, has a bank, a Roman Catholic college,³⁴ and a number of churches. Washington is 124 miles from Monticello, and 42 from Baltimore.

I am, your's.³⁵

³⁴ Founded in 1789, the college is now Georgetown University.

³⁵ This last letter is not in the New York edition. The halftitle following it has been supplied by the present editor from the Belfast title-page.

Some Account of the Islands in the
ATLANTIC OCEAN,

KNOWN BY THE NAME OF THE

AZORES,

VISITED FOR SOME WEEKS BY THE AUTHOR, ON
HIS WAY FROM THE UNITED STATES TO

EUROPE,

In April and May, 1809.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ISLANDS OF THE AZORES.

HAVING heard so little of the natural History, Productions, or Inhabitants of the Azores, I was agreeably surprised to find under each of these heads ample room for the exercise of curiosity.

I arrived at Fayal on the 19th day of May 1809.³⁶ The weather was serene and charming, and the climate more congenial to the feelings of an invalid than I had for a long time before experienced.

The Azores, or Western Islands, are nine in number, and situate in the Atlantic Ocean, between 25 and 33 W. longitude, and between 37 and 40 N. latitude. They derive their general title from the vast number of hawks found among them, and each island its particular name, from the devotion of its inhabitants; as St. Michael's, St. George's, St. Maria, Graciosos, Terceira, or from the natural productions of the country, as Fayal for a particular kind of shrub or tree. Pico, for its remarkable pike, or mountain. Flores for flowers, and Corvo for crows. The British courts of law, have, I am told, lately decided in a litigated case, respecting an importation of grain from the Azores to England, that these

³⁶ This date is wrong and should probably be the 19th day of April, 1809. The titlepage states that the Azores were "visited for some weeks by the author . . . in April and May, 1809." Furthermore, the writer on page 58 tells us he was "obligated to sail before the feast of whitsunday," the 21st of May.

islands belong to that quarter of the world called Africa. They were discovered by the Flemings, it is said, in the fifteenth century, but were afterwards taken possession of by the Portugueze, under whose government they yet remain. The manners, the customs, the industrious pursuits of the original settlers, are yet seen and felt by their offspring. In the manufacture of a strong and lasting table and bed linen, they particularly excel, and the charming village of Flemingo, in the island of Fayal, exhibits many a simple, and many a curious domestic trait in the character of these descendants of ancestors, who, in their day, for talents, industry and perseverance, were famed throughout the world. I have never yet learned their motive for emigration; the effort must indeed have been prodigious, at a time when navigation was so little known, and whether religious persecution, or the tyranny of temporal power induced them to seek an asylum so far distant from their native land, we cannot but admire the heads that could plan, the virtue that could undertake, and the perseverance that effected such an undertaking. The present race, with the exception of those who live in the sea ports, or seats of government, and who I consider entirely Portugueze, are a simple, industrious, unambitious, superstitious race of people, much addicted to the ceremonial and showy part of the Roman Catholic ritual, and in these particulars wholly governed by their priests. In the towns, the lower classes are idle, improvident and filthy; the higher classes, composing the nobility and gentry, are polite in their manners, and attentive to strangers, but possess all the hauteur of family pride, so remarkable in the Portugueze character, and rarely soil their hands by pursuits of industry, or employ their minds in useful acquirement. I am happy, however, to admit there are

exceptions (to my knowledge) from this general rule. I could not discover, nor have I heard that among the clergy there are men of enlightened minds, or superior endowments; I met with many possessed of blandness of manners, and unless I am much deceived, of goodness of heart, and could not but lament the prevalence of an hierarchy, which threw on the community such a dead weight of useless, often of mischievous matter, or deprived it of the industry of so great a portion of the population. But it is a view of the nunneries, and their immolated inhabitants, that most particularly interest the feelings of a stranger; how many a lovely victim of parental cruelty, or superstitious barbarity, is doomed in these abodes of sorrow, to "waste her sweetness on the desert air," how are all the feelings and energies of daughter, sister, wife, mother, and friend engulfed and destroyed by this unnatural contrivance of priest-craft, cruelty and bigotry, by this barbarous and anti-social institution. A gentleman of my acquaintance at Fayal, has four sisters immured in the nunnery; he has travelled and sincerely regrets his want of those domestic blessings and comforts he has witnessed the enjoyment of in other countries, between brothers and sisters, but how can we appreciate the feelings of the mother of these young ladies, who now lying on a bed of sickness, perhaps of death, has no female attendant, but the mercenary uninterested hireling; no comfort but the operation of frivolous rites, or superstitious ceremony, on a mind, racked by the consciousness of a departure from that law of affection engrafted by nature itself on the heart of a parent. I hope I have not gone too far. I am aware that devotion, or the pouring out of the heart to the Divine Being, in whatever shape or way it may be performed, should be respected by the

liberal mind, but that great and noble tenet which commands our doing to others what we would they should do unto us, forbids our condemning those over whom nature has given us power—

“To drink the cup
Of baleful grief, or eat the bitter bread of misery.”

I cannot but lament an event which has taken place in Fayal, while I am writing this tract, and although I so decidedly censure the monastic system, yet it must be admitted, the perpetrator of the crime I am about relating is highly culpable, and perhaps at some other period of the Portuguese history, would have received the just reward of his criminal temerity; at present; although all ranks of people feel the indignity done to their religion or prejudices, and the unhandsome return made for offices of hospitality, yet they also feel their inability to enforce respect to their laws, in the case in question, and therefore submit, but with a bad grace.

After paying a number of visits at the gratings of one of the nunneries, the commander of a ship now in the road, by means of an interpreter, won the affections of one of the nuns, who the more effectually to secure her escape, made a confidante of another, through whose room she must pass, and whose gratings must be removed ere she could have communication with the street. The confidante required as the reward of her services, the privilege of accompanying the frail fugitive; the hour arrived, the beautiful sister Rosa escaped, a boat was in waiting, which conveyed her to the ship of her seducer, but the unfortunate companion of her flight, after suffering dislocation and bruises, from the height of her fall, was permitted to lie on the beach, and be dragged back again to her loathsome prison house, where her wounds are now undergoing a

cure, previous to the dreadful vengeance which will no doubt, be inflicted on her. The ship made sail, returned again in a couple of days; the captain declared his utter ignorance of the whole matter, offered to submit his vessel to be searched, which the governor declined, and is now preparing to leave this place with his unfortunate victim; truly a victim, first to the pride and superstition of a relentless parent, and now to the arts of a seducer. Previous to her taking the veil, the lovely Rosa had been eagerly solicited in marriage by a respectable young man of the island, but the inhuman father refused his consent, and sealed the doom of his child's destruction. The whole affair has been laid before the bishop, at Terceira; but whether it will be considered more prudent to drop further investigation, or to look for redress, has not yet been determined.³⁷

The island of St. Michael is about 18 leagues long, and from 2 to 5 broad, and contains about 80,000 inhabitants. Its soil and climate is capable of producing almost any thing, the exports consist of grain, sea wheat, Indian corn and beans, about 60 to 80 vessels annually, of 100 to a 120 tons, employed principally to Lisbon and Madeira, besides a number of smaller craft. The produce of oranges and lemons, from 50 to 80 thou-

³⁷ "From the Gloria convent... a nun named Rosa... went off with Mr. or Captain Sturt, of the British navy. She took into her confidence another nun, who begged so hard to accompany her that she was allowed to do so, but being much heavier than her friend, who descended first in safety, the rope ladder broke and the friend had to be left behind with a broken leg. We always understood that this nun had been 'walled up', but the Abbess told C[lara] P[omeroy] D[abney], years after, that she died in her cell some time after; what was done to her was never exactly known. Mrs. Sturt was happily married, Mr. Searle visited her, and a nephew of hers, whom she urged to make her a visit, found her living most comfortably somewhere in the south of England." Roxana Lewis Dabney, *Annals of the Dabney Family in Fayal*, Boston, [ca. 1900], Vol. 1, p. 28.

sands boxes, but varies so much some years as from 20 to 90,000 boxes; there are from 20,000*l.* to 30,000*l.* worth of British goods annually imported, besides flax and iron from Russia, and salt and oil from Portugal. Coffee of a good quality would grow in any of the islands, particularly in St. Michael's. The value of the linen manufactured for house use and export, is equal to 150, or 200,000 dollars annually. The sugar cane in most of the islands could be cultivated to perfection. Saint Michael's can boast of mineral waters and baths equal to any in the world, as has been ascertained from their general medicinal qualities, and the variety of cures actually performed. The harbour and town is on the south side. Population of the latter about 12,000 souls. The anchorage ground is good, about a mile from the shore, but such is the open and unprotected state of the harbour, that almost every wind that blows drives a vessel to sea, the landing place only admits one boat at a time, and goods are discharged by a crane on the wharf, from whence jack asses are employed to convey them to the stores; these animals, and oxen, are numerous and made to perform all the offices of labour throughout the island, in which a quadruped can be employed. The hogs are of a peculiar breed, and delight in the water, they swim, dive, and frequently procure their food from that element. A spirited government could, at no very great expense, make an excellent harbour for vessels of tolerable draft of water. One gentleman at St. Michael's has a garden, which, perhaps, for variety of useful and ornamental productions, is not surpassed by many private enclosures in Europe.

Saint Mary's is about 7 leagues in circumference, provides all the other islands with clay for coarse pot-

ter's ware, and with limestone; also exports some grain to Lisbon. Inhabitants about 5000.

Terceira, in this island resides the governor general; hitherto always a native of the mother country, and a nobleman. The bishop and corregidores, who, with the chief judges and two deputies form a junto, for the general direction of the governors of the other islands. The population is from 20 to 30 thousand, and the exports much the same as St. Michael's; here, as in St. Michael's and St. Mary's, the beautiful red legged partridge abounds, and in each island immense numbers of canary birds, black-birds and chaffinches, with some few others, as the black-cap, whose note is delightful; there are plenty of wild pigeons and rabbits, and quails in abundance; also, fine stock doves and wood-cocks are plenty in some, but exist in all the islands the whole year round. There are no reptiles in the islands, nor any noxious insects, except musquitoes, although I have found a plentiful supply of fleas in the Portuguese houses; more I think to be attributed to filth and exclusion of free and pure air, than to climate. The harbour and town of this island is on the south side.

St. George is about 12 leagues in length, and one to two in breadth; produces cattle for the supply of Terceira and Fayal, and in good years about 400 pipes of wine, and 2000 bushels of corn, more than their consumption. Population about 6000 souls; there is a small harbour, with a tolerable good quay, along-side of which vessels can load and discharge, in good weather. In May 1808, there was a severe and sudden irruption of lava, attended by earthquakes; about 60 of the poor inhabitants lost their lives, and the property of a number was totally destroyed. For an account of

it see the publication of Mr. Dabney, the American consul at Fayal.³⁸

Pico is about 40 leagues in circumference, the only produce is wines, which belong to individuals in, and are exported from Fayal, which latter island supplies Pico with almost every necessary of life; the produce in a good year is about 24,000 pipes. The pike, or mountain is about 2 ½ miles in height, almost perpendicular, and frequently covered with snow until the month of May. The inhabitants are about 15,000, there are some curious woods grow here, but there is difficulty in obtaining them, one kind is like the beautiful satin wood; with which cabinet work is frequently finished off; it has no port or town; there is a prairie, or natural meadow, about half way up the mountain, which affords pasture for cattle, and being surrounded on all sides by lava, is subject of considerable interest to the naturalist.

Fayal is about 12 leagues in circumference, and very fertile, but Pico requires all the grain which this island can spare, so that the only exports are wine, brandy and a few cargoes of lemons and oranges. The population of the whole island is stated at about 20,000, that of the town of Horta included, which is estimated at 6000. There might be a safe, good harbour formed at a comparative small expense, that would contain almost any fleet in safety; at present the road is much exposed to a south east wind, and an unpleasant place to lie in, although the anchorage ground is very tolerable; however, a vessel can load and discharge pretty expedi-

³⁸ John Bass Dabney (1767-1826) of Massachusetts was consul at Fayal from 1806 to 1826. He wrote "New Volcano. A Letter from John B. Dabney, Esq., Consul of the United States of America, to a Friend at St. Michael's," *The [London, Edinburgh and Dublin] Philosophical Magazine*. Edited by Alexander Tilloch. Vol. 31, London, Sept. 1808, p. 324-327. He was succeeded as consul by his son Charles William Dabney (1794-1870).

tiously; boats are readily procured, hands plenty, and labour cheap; common wages, per day, 16 or 20 cents, women servants one half to a whole dollar per month. Men servants 15 to 30 dollars per year. This island supplies Pico, St. George's, Gracious, Flores and Corvo, with dry goods, and in trade ranks next to St. Michael's; tobacco of excellent quality grows spontaneously throughout all the islands, but as its cultivation would destroy the royal contract for that article, which is manufactured out of Brazil leaf, and sold at one dollar and one fifth per pound; the poor islander is obliged, through passionately fond of the weed, to stint himself to two leaves in his garden, and these are permitted for medicinal purposes alone. The crown also reserves to itself, and raises a revenue from the manufacture of soap. Shumack grows wild, and in large quantities, the cedar wood is very durable, particularly that found in Flores, and there are frequently large trees discovered buried several feet under the earth, in good preservation. The castor oil tree grows to perfection, also, figs, appricots, bananas, dates, and fruit of almost every description. Their beef and mutton is poor, the former is, however, tender and well tasted, and only wants care and feeding to make it excellent; price from 4 to 6 cents per pound; pork excellent, 5 cents; goats about one dollar each; fowls, one 5th of a dollar each; eggs 4 to 6 cents per dozen, and to be obtained, and chickens raised all the year round. Wheat fixed by a law of the island (Fayal) to one dollar, and Indian corn to 60 cents per bushel; milk cows as well as oxen, asses and mules are used in the labours of the field, the mill, and for purposes of recreation; very few horses on the island. Mr. Dabney, the American consul, has a very good house, beautifully situated,

commanding a view of the town, the harbour, the shipping, Pico and St. George's, with five acres of ground, handsomely laid out in gardens, for which he only pays 120 dollars per annum. The extreme cold is 54 in the house, and 50 at night, in the open air, the thermometer is very seldom up to 80 degrees, so that the temperature and salubrity is scarcely to be equalled. The inhabitants live to a good old age, and were they to use more milk and vegetables, it would undoubtedly add to their health and longevity; but both the gentry and peasantry prefer meats and bread to the other more wholesome diet. They of course use great quantities of fish during lent, and on soup maigre days, and nature has bountifully supplied them with plenty of this wholesome nutriment in their own waters. The people are in general much more comely and well looking than those on the continent of Spain or Portugal, and many yet retain the traces of their Flemish original; they are infinitely more mild in their manners, and more courteous to strangers, though they know them to be heretics, and did they enjoy the blessings of a better government, cultivation and population would increase to at least double. Their situation entitles them to the highest consideration both as a naval depot and a nursery for seamen, their inclination leading them to a sea life. Provisions might be raised to a considerable amount, and these islands become the centre of trade to the four quarters of the globe.

The general price of wine for export, is 40 to 50 per pipe. Horta contains three large churches, besides many household chapels, two nunneries and three friars, each of which has a large church attached to it; there are about 400 nuns and 200 monks in Fayal. The militia of that island are about 800, well looking and well ap-

pointed men, and 100 regulars; there are four forts at Horta, mounting a few guns; the whole number, good and bad, mounted and dismounted, about 100. I feared to be considered impertinent, or might have ascertained these matters with more precision from the governor, who is a hearty, good natured, hospitable man. There are some excellent springs in Fayal, and in the winter season one river descends from the hills in torrents, but it was nearly dry during my stay, and afforded barely a supply of water for bleaching the linen of the manufacture of the industrious islanders. The water in the town for culinary purposes, is very indifferent, except where private houses have good cisterns for the reception of rain water, which pouring in from their tiled roofs, becomes, after being settled, palatable and excellent. During the residence of the Jesuits in Fayal, they built a most noble college; it is now going fast to decay; to this order may be attributed the immense buildings of walls, forts, pavements, public works and protections against the inroads of the sea, with which Fayal abounds. They improved the country, ameliorated the condition of the lower orders of society, and gave them that species of education which consisted with the superiority they wished to retain over the minds and countries of the inhabitants, but they, unfortunately for their order, wished to transfer to their own body, that estimation and reverence of the vulgar, which had heretofore exclusively been paid to the nobility and grantees. There exists among the gentry of Fayal a considerable portion of polite and hospitable intercourse. The gentlemen have a card party every night at each others houses, whist is the favourite game, and their betting is moderate. They have stated public festivals, at which the ladies appear, as they do occasionally at

private balls and parties, there were only two balls during my stay, and I had opportunity of admiring beauties and graces that would have done honour to a capital. I regretted being obliged to sail before the feast of whitsuntide,³⁹ which I was told, exceeds all others for splendour and festivity. In the towns, and indeed throughout the islands, beggars are very numerous, the mistaken charity of the convents support many in idleness, their clamour deafens whilst their filth disgusts strangers, but let it be remembered that this description bears almost exclusively strong traits of the Portuguese character and descent. The small-pox has made dreadful ravages among them, I suppose there never was so much blindness in the same population, owing to that scourge in any other part of the world. I understand the vaccine system has been very generally adopted throughout the islands.

Gracioso, is about 8 leagues in circumference, produces wine and grain, principally barley, which is shipped for Lisbon; the wine is mostly distilled into brandy, which, in good years, makes 1000 to 1400 pipes. Population about 4000. Flores is about 16 leagues in circumference, produces grain and cedar wood, and some coarse woollens; the former goes to Lisbon, the latter generally to Fayal; cultivation is rather neglected. Inhabitants, 10,000.

³⁹ Whitsunday, May 21, 1809.

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Caldwell spent a day exploring Weyer's Cave (now the Grand Caverns) which had been discovered only two years before. His account of its wonders seen by candlelight, nearly a century before electric lights flooded its rooms, is the earliest description of this fine cave.

Crossing the Blue Ridge in September, he stopped to see the President of the United States at his mountain top home. The universal interests of Jefferson were evident in the confused mixture of objects which Caldwell saw in the rooms at Monticello.

On his journey to Alexandria, Caldwell followed the road which Jefferson used and recommended. The *Tour* ends with a description of the national capital, Washington, when it was new and raw.

Caldwell, who was a New York merchant, comments with approval on the developing commerce and industry of Virginia and Maryland. Slavery was distasteful to him, and gambling he abhorred. He was touched by the sad fate of Reuben Burnley, who was driven to suicide by the vice.

Hesitating between the Catholic and Protestant faiths, Caldwell was a keen observer of both. He visited alike the cathedral in Baltimore and a Presbyterian service in Staunton.

In 1809 Caldwell spent a pleasant month in the Azores. His account of the islands is at once factual and chatty. A nun named Rosa scandalized the community by running away with an English sea captain, while Caldwell was at Fayal.

WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL, a native of West Virginia, graduated from Davidson College in 1933 and began teaching in the mountains of Alleghany County Virginia, not far from the Sweet Springs. In 1936 he moved to Lynchburg, Virginia, where he taught history in the Robert E. Lee Junior High School. He received his master's degree in history from the University of Virginia in 1938.

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After his return to the United States, Mr. Rachal joined the staff of the Virginia World War II History Commission at Charlottesville as a historian. He wrote many of the chapters in *Pursuits of War* and edited volumes IX and X of the *Papers of the Albemarle County Historical Society*. He has also contributed to magazines.

Now a member of the staff of the History Division of the Virginia State Library, Mr. Rachal makes his home in Richmond. He is an associate editor of *Virginia Cavalcade*, a popular magazine of history, for which he writes regularly.

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